

Living in the ruins or buried alive? Conditions for sustainable development in former single industry communities

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My field is former single industry communities in the region of Gävleborg, Sweden, focusing on Norrsundet, Ljusne and Hofors. They can be defined as single industry communities in the sense that they were built as a consequence of establishing industries, and one industry was usually larger, and/or subordinating others.ⁱ Another characteristic is that they were built to be modern, or actually urban, and thereby tends to lack the charm sought for in agricultural villages. A society who used to be modern is seldom depicted as picturesque and appealing to visitors. In comparison with Iceland I guess the counterpart is fishing villages, with existing or former fishing industry in a rather large scale.

This large scale is also characteristic of the communities in Gävleborg and in many parts of the Swedish countryside as well, more obvious in the northern and inner parts of the country. The modernization and following urbanization, industrialization and so on, in Sweden occurred in two steps, first centralizing in these kinds of communities, then concentrating in larger cities. The smaller communities (*centralorter*) are now oversized in a very obvious way, due to severe depopulation and withdrawal of company service, welfare service and retail. This oversizing is not only visible concerning industry buildings, plants and so on, but also in the size of meeting places like community houses, sports arenas and a dramatic decrease of shops and cafés.

My interest in these small, post-industrial places started when I discovered that these kinds of communities didn't pay any attention to possibilities offered in subsidies for rural development, in opposite of other, more agrarian villages. I was evaluating a project on rural development in Söderhamns kommun, one of the municipalities in the region. Project leaders and others explained to me that it was no wonder; the inhabitants were described as passive, waiting for The Company to help them. The blame was put on them and a certain mythology of "bruksandan" was reproduced in the blaming, as an opposite of the officially preferred esteem or mentality: entrepreneurship. "Bruksandan" can be translated as "the spirit of industrial communities" and is generally described as a consequence of the Company as paternalistic structure, with no individual responsibilities. The "bruksanda" in this sense is characterized by conformity, passivity and lack of initiative, and could in a way be used as a fix explanation for the reasons of negative or lacking development.ⁱⁱ I found this mythology highly repressive and counterproductive. It also became obvious that it was also highly political, but very implicit, never spelled out.ⁱⁱⁱ

How? Method

At a very early stage, as I mentioned above, I was involved in these communities by doing evaluation of a rural development project.^{iv} As I live and worked nearby, the involvement became long-term. I was invited in different groups, started to participate in meetings, primarily in Ljusne. As a consequence of this, I started working with a pre-study about the cultural heritage after industrial society there, and cooperated with the local museum in this matter. Then I started to work in the research project "When reality doesn't correspond to the map - social and cultural conditions for sustainable development in rural areas"^v, and the number of people and meetings increased. Later on it led to additional funding for development projects in the cultural sector, now we have three of those running (on contemporary art and the cultural heritage of industrial society; on photography and documentation; on community theater).

At the small research unit I was working from, there had been a strong emphasis on what is called *interactive research*, which in my case included:

- Research circles
- Interviews, photography
- Field notes from participatory participation^{vi}
- Feedback and readings

- Repetition and recognition
- Co-thinking and co-writing

To some extent I have also used media, but the important core in interactive research is dialogue, feedback and letting people in to the research process instead of just studying them.^{vii}

What? Cultural sustainability

The overall frame for this project is sustainability. As several researchers already noticed, sustainability is a slippery concept and it can be questioned whether it is possible to use as a scientific concept at all.^{viii} Empirically, our aim has been to say something about conditions for *social* sustainability, first and foremost, but trying to connect to the other “pillars” of sustainability as well (economical and ecological sustainability). I have recently become aware of the use of the concept *cultural sustainability* as well, introduced to me by scholars from Finland and Iceland. Katriina Soini, at the university of Jyväskylä, is suggesting two ways of using cultural sustainability: either as a forth “pillar” or as a prism, a looking glass through which the other pillars or aspects of sustainability should be regarded. Since we’ve been looking for the cultural and social conditions for sustainability, this idea of a prism seemed most useful. This means the insight of sustainable development as regulated by norms, common understandings of the “nature” of things. This common understanding is continuously changing in time and space. Nevertheless, I have found it useful to use these *cultural processes* as a kind of point of departure. Cultural processes are not arising out of the blue, they are dependent on (at least) two important measures: experience and value, which in turn (and here oversimplified) rests on notions of class, gender, ethnicity or other local ways of producing and reproducing social differentiation.^{ix}

The question is, for a start, how does these regulations take place? On what grounds? Or: what are these cultural regulations concerning former single industry communities? This question is divided into two lines of discussion:

1. How does the distribution or production of *value* occur today, in the divide between centre and periphery, and to what consequences?
2. What is the potential – and threats - for a sustainable development in these communities, if we consider (historical) *experience*? What happens if we recognize experience-based stories of a place?

Part I: The distribution of value today Colonial traits; centre/periphery and mapping

Former single industry communities are mostly defined as belonging to the periphery. The bare little word “former” indicates this, and the failure to identify the place as rural hasn’t changed the fact that numerically speaking they are equivalents. Being built as modern or urban doesn’t help in this sense, on the contrary, there is nothing more un-modern than being ex-modern. Defined against the “new” urban, these communities are definitely inscribed as peripheral. In fact, it is possible to talk of *internal orientalism*^x here, since the relation is uneven and often pronounced in terms of dichotomies between “us” and “them”, in the well-known dichotomy of nature/culture, used to exert power:

- | | |
|----------------|-------------|
| • Nature | Culture |
| • Civilization | Barbarism |
| • Sense | Sensibility |
| • Male | Female |
| • Future | Past |
| • Development | Stagnation |

It is a kind of colonial relation, the flow of resources and the distribution of value is not equal. Another colonial practice used in the creation of peripherality is *mapping*. The art of describing and mapping is a part of western modernization; by these practices it is possible to gain control over the uncontrolled, and to utilize it for different means.^{xi} It is necessary, I would like to add, to relativize the *localization* of peripheral places. The processes defining these have not only to do with geography. Places far out in the outskirts of Sweden, like Åre, Visby and Österlen, can be centre under certain times of the year: leisure times. Processes making centre and periphery is thus depending on both space and time.^{xii} Let me take three examples of mapping, which has consequences for the outcome of sustainable development:

1. Wind power plants (ecological dimension of sustainable development)

Large areas of wind power plants are currently planned in remote areas of Sweden. This has caused a storm of protests among individuals living nearby, or having any kind of interest in the area, both summer guests and farmers alike. Arguments like loud noise, destroying bird's wild life or inability for tourism to establish are communicated, but beneath all this is a strong sense of place. From the mapping point of view, places might seem abandoned, but very seldom are. Furthermore, studies in England reveal that it is areas appreciated for their openness that tends to be mapped as suitable for wind power plants.^{xiii} The consequences on nature and society seems to be recovered by a small "development subsidy", but often the community (and the amount!) is too small to be able to use it strategically. By mapping areas without getting local support and without being informed by local knowledge of places suitable/not suitable for wind power plants, is therefore not a suitable praxis for sustainable development from a social/cultural perspective.

2. Entrepreneurship (economic dimension of sustainable development)

A very common way to define development and exclude stagnation is the strong ideal of entrepreneurship. But being an entrepreneur is not always rewarded in former single industry communities, where being on "the wrong side" of employment can have far going consequence. As I mentioned above, this discourse is repeated in different levels of society, describing the inhabitants as passive and stubborn, suffering from "Bruksanda": a kind of mentality implicating backwardness and passivity. So the recipe for economical sustainable development doesn't work very well here either, leaving inhabitants in former single industry-communities with a strong feeling of failure.

3: Art projects. (social/cultural^{xiv} dimension of sustainable development)

In the empty buildings left by industry, art or handicraft often moves in. I dare to say that this is so common that it can be considered as a way of mapping. The concept is to transform buildings for construction into creative spaces, with little or no consideration of the cultural heritage of these buildings but merely a certain kind of aesthetics connected to abandoned industrial places. In Sweden we have examples from Avesta, in a rather large scale, or Fengefors, in a smaller context. The ambition is to get national and international attention, the local is merely used as a background and milieu. People already living there are either "hard to handle" or merely overlooked/bypassed.^{xv} What actually happened in a small community like Fengefors was a complete redefinition of place, turning into an arts and artisans collective with necessary support and service from the one's already living there. It was a kind of giant gentrification process, which, due to the scale, resulted in an impact of the community as a whole. This re-definition of place is interesting for our purpose: to look for the cultural regulations of sustainability. How is it redefined?

Re-defining place

How can peripheral communities get re-defined by the centre? How and why, and what implications or consequences do we get from this, concerning sustainability?

1. *Re-creating and overlooking the local.* The local, in a very wide sense of the term, is conspicuously put *out of* place. That is, it is common to re-create and interpret the local: taking up parts from it, making new usage of them. Earlier functions of items are transformed into symbolic and aesthetic values. The owner of these new values never belongs to the local him or herself.^{xvi} An example from one of the cultural project I follow as evaluator: At an exhibition and a happening, a lamp and an armchair from the seventies, with a worn rug under it, were placed in a corner. It became a symbol and a silent ghost, taken from its original function and milieu, made into an aesthetic item or statement. A second example: Mural painting took place in a central housing area, taking inspiration in motives from industrial heritage, without the kind of "Soviet" aura connected to these symbols in earlier pieces like sculptures. Taking bits and pieces, putting them together in a new context, made them symbols, but as such possible identifications or reverse. In the same project, and similar ones in Sweden, the local is not counted for anything. Rather it is used as capital in the battle for national attention or rather international. Ambitions are always stretched beyond the local level. The local is *by itself* contaminated and cannot be used as it is. This is a crucial part in undermining social sustainability that reveals the power relations between centre and periphery, even if it *may look like* being developing the local, it is more a question of colonization it.

2. There is also a time aspect in this re-definition of place, which implies making a *distance between history and today*, where "the locals" are seen as living in the past, and "the re-creating ones" being the future. This discourse is very strong. Re-defining place also demands keeping the line clear between subject and object, in which one is to transform the other. It is also necessary to create a difference between actor and audience, where the audience is to be created. The *function* of the audience^{xvii} can be described as follows.

The use of an audience in centre/periphery relations

1. Audience as servants

In this aspect of the use of an audience, the local (periphery) is expected to feed urban dreamers (centre), with:

- Cultural heritage
- Leisure
- Food
- Stability and roots

This is a crucial part in the modernization process, modernity being defined as urban, mobile and disconnected, but in need of history, roots, nature, tradition.^{xviii} It is the same pattern as in the colonial dichotomies above. In this aspect, the rural and/or periphery can be made visible only as “leisure-land”, recreation for inhabitants from the urban centre. The rural doesn’t exist during times without tourists, to put it on the edge. It is a place being visible only during specific times, under a specific gaze. *Being there out of time is being out of place.*

2. Audience as imitators

Another function of the audience in center/periphery relations is being imitators. The audience serves as a mirror of the actor, trying to imitate or please, thereby producing values, like:

- Attention
- Admiration
- Attempts

Homi K Bhabha has argued that the colonial object ideally tries to be “like us”, but never accomplish this striving, not quite.^{xix} There is always a “lag” of time; “café Latte hasn’t reached Jarvisö - yet”, and/or a “lag” of place: if someone appears to be just like “us”, he/she doesn’t belong here. In this case, the lag of place, it is a question of presumed *displacement*: you (who are one of us) shouldn’t be here (with them). Again, we see the principle of being out of place. I have now met three young ambitious women, in different contexts but living in the same region, who had been told that “you, who are so industrious, you shouldn’t be here”^{xx}

3. The audience as Confirmation

Most importantly, however, is the function of the audience as confirming or re-assuring. This third function is a kind of summing up the other two; by being servants, not quite like us but striving and admiring and thereby legitimizing, the hierarchy in centre/periphery relations is reproduced over and over. The audience/periphery serve as a definition and confirmation of the centre just in being its opposite.^{xxi} Also here there are several examples from colonial structures/studies; Edward Said among others, has described how the fantasy of the “East”, (what he calls Orientalism) serves as a definition or mirror of western civilizations.^{xxii} There is an evident need for descriptions of the periphery, or rather of peripherality, produced by journalists, photographers and to some extent researchers, spending a day or two in the periphery, writing black poetry of the abandoned land and then returning to the centre reassured. In literature this practice has given name to a genre, *country noir*, where the periphery serve as backdrop for all kinds of misery.^{xxiii} In photography a surge for modern ruins has created a certain aesthetics of abandoned places, especially these modern or post-modern in the literal sense of the word, places like plants, asylums, boardrooms and whole communities. It is a kind of “memento moris” or “vanitas” motives but the effect of these descriptions of a small community can be a feeling of being buried alive. Symptomatically, the photographer Jan Jörnmark describes these places as tombs.^{xxiv} Since the local in general is so detested, it is not hard to find this audience at namely every level in society, reproducing these myths. But there are also other voices, not so much heard because the lack of a frame or discourse to connect them to. I consider it an important act trying to produce such a frame, to put other stories in context, making them visible, recognizing them.

Part II: Potential production of value

The reactions of these myths and negative descriptions about the periphery can be reached when asking people living there, in the commentator fields of the local newspaper or in social media. The official channels of communication, the more narrow or traditional sphere of the public, has no room for other voices. So here I would like to introduce some of them

A comment on Mustafa Cans and Jan Jörnmarks article in the national newspaper Dagens Nyheter was: “Your playground is our history.” The man writing this comment was irritated over what he described as “running in *our* buildings”, *our* history, in words that treated the intruders as children. One of the inhabitants of Ljusne, a woman deeply engaged in politics for a long time and participant in my research circle, said that the descriptions hit her like a wet towel in the face, while trying to work for a future for the community of Ljusne. The same autumn, 2010, there were at least 3 articles in this genre, one exhibition and a couple of books.^{xxv} Another member in the research circle said, about these articles: “The worst is that there is such a lack of expectations. Not anything about something new, coming, just describing the end of everything”.^{xxvi}

This has been a slow process for some time now. Several years before 2010, people I talked to in smaller communities seemed to be prepared for the question “why didn’t you move?”, sometimes answering it before getting the question.^{xxvii} There is always some work required in coping with the fact that black descriptions need to be disarmed, otherwise the contamination of place can drown its inhabitants in shame. One young man in Hofors put it like this:

“It is inculcated that Hofors is a little “hole”. It is both ourselves and the ones who don’t live here that got that image of Hofors and I don’t really know why /.../ The question is if it’s not a thing becoming a truth in a way. But I’m not ashamed in any way coming from Hofors”^{xxviii}

There are a lot of similarities in how the suburbs have been described in Sweden, a kind of genre that the ethnologist Per-Markku Ristilammi has called “black poetry”.^{xxix} This concept has gained more than one layer of meaning since this book was published; these suburbs have grown into a kind of ethnicity “blackness” more than anything.^{xxx} It has therefore become relevant to speak about the periphery, or rural, as “othered”.^{xxxi} These descriptions are true *obstacles* for social sustainability, creating “underdogs” in the periphery. First and most obvious, it is a constant attack on the inhabitant’s self-confidence and trust. If there is no trust, there can hardly be any social sustainability, as it is a key ingredient of the concept. On the other hand, the strong ties between people in peripheral areas are a *kind of trust* that is not recognized. And this is the second kind of obstacle I’m thinking of, the lack of recognition of resources in these communities.

Releasing other stories

One way of testing the potential production of value in former single industry communities could be to release other stories. There are multiple ways of doing this; interviewing, photographing, listening and giving attention on various occasions, or “story-telling nights”. To ask and to let people speak is no rocket science. The hard part is listening without having the old stories in mind. It is important, I believe, to try to *unlearn* what we “know” first, and then try to listen with “fresh ears”. This unlearning is a painful process and it takes time to find all the black boxes and open them one by one. It is also, by definition, very hard to make someone else understand this unlearning process, especially if you’re the only one around trying. In fact, as Doreen Massey has argued, globalization rejects all other stories, leaving literally no space for them, in much the same way modernity did.^{xxxii}

However, supporting other stories, connected to a community, should not mean to “tie down” inhabitants to the local either.^{xxxiii} Rather it sets forward a striving to recognize the importance of place, without locking in the people who happens to live there right now. As the anthropologist Ann-Kristin Ekman has argued, a small community has important relations to persons who don’t live there, a zone she has called the “shadow village”.^{xxxiv} It is also important to acknowledge the global relations of inhabitants in these communities, because of the risk of otherwise defining them in another time and thereby in another space than us, according to the discussions of time-lag and displacement above. Having this in mind, a few ways of exploring the potential for production of value could be:

1. Re-imagine a sense of place

In discussions of globalization and the vanishing point of place going with it, Massey has heavily criticized globalization for its denial of spatiality. This denial she describes in terms of hidden power structures, producing inequality and the type of stories about time-lag discussed above.^{xxxv} The “threat” of margins invading the centre has not become true, rather they are effectively excluded. In this I would like to stress that it is crucial not to make the local spatial, but to make the global spatial in localizing it.^{xxxvi} It is necessary to recognize the global in the local without reproducing Jörnmark-stories of death or tourist appealing stories of art centres, but in asking the inhabitants how they perceive and handle change. When asking, it is obvious that a core question is to support local memory. It has been argued that communities under high pressure have a more urgent need to remember, to look back in history, and this practice has also been declared not useful for development.^{xxxvii} In the municipality’s striving to forget the history of the industrial society of Ljusne, approximately 15 years of potential development were lost. Denying history and putting the blame of lacking development directly on inhabitants, were rather contraproductive, since

the only definition of development was acting accordingly to the map (i. e entrepreneurship), a map which took no notice of cultural and social preconditions.

In the act of re-placing, memory is crucial. Re-remembering is quite the opposite of producing and selling cultural heritage to others, which became clear after a few years with local historians in this area and similar communities (Ljusne, Marmaverken, Gällö etc). From the point of view of *remembering*, history can't be interesting for persons coming from another place; remembering is embedded in place. Hence, the local museum in Ljusne functions as a kind of common for remembering, at exhibitions and meetings of different kinds. This is quite different from the "map-view" of using the history of a(ny) place as an objectified cultural heritage of general interest.^{xxxviii} It is also something completely different than place branding, which also stretches away from identification (introvert) towards distilling discourse of a place into a narrow kit of "sellability" (säljbarhet). The two later examples are commodifications, the first serves as identificatory. This practice of remembering, however, can exclude newcomers, but since there is an impressive stock of local knowledge formally open by local museums and books, there is a theoretical chance to catch up.

2. Legitimation of local knowledge

Modernization and industrialization can be seen as processes re-defining knowledge, making knowledge a business for experts. One example is to transform the learning chain from one generation to another, into an education system, a process also known as professionalization. Other kinds of local knowledge (than the vocational kind) had managed to reproduce itself orally, for example knowledge of kinship or good stories. Lengthy discussions on who is related to who is actually actively creating local knowledge, in creating the social web needed for any society, and of course, needed for social sustainability. Lengthy discussions of trying to determine which year something happened, is also a kind of cooperative production of memory, crucial for social cohesion. These kinds of oral reproduction also consists of judgements, value, moral standpoints a s o, and it's possible to see the actual production of cultural processes as shared meaning, ever fluctuating. It could be strategic, due to this, to support the recapturing of local knowledge, for example by organizing "story telling nights". The research circle held one in Ljusne 2011, on the theme "bruksanda" (or "spirit of a former single industry community). On this occasion it became possible to make a local *redefinition* of the word, widening it's meaning to embrace positive experience of the concept, like cooperation and helpfulness, feeling safe and known, as well as the less pleasing ones of being constantly observed and commented. But it should be remembered that this in turn only was possible after a few stories told by the participants of our research circle, making space for a wider meaning. Releasing other stories is therefore to be seen as an act involving some kind of effort. The stories need to be reproduced in public, made common, to get useful. This public sphere has been considerably diminished after the industrialization era. Not only public meetingplaces has lost their meaning and being replaced by a few benches in the local mall, most important is the loss of work. The common workplace served as a public sphere where men and women could check if something or someone was trustworthy. One project leader in Norrsundet, another community I have been looking at, told me that after employment there was a lack of these kinds of "checking" opportunities, so that no one appeared at different events, since they didn't know if it was considered "ok" by others.^{xxxix} This lack of common places created a vacuum in the community.

3. Re-cognizing cooperation, mutual support, resistance

This need of a collective decision in different matters has been regarded as a burden in today's extremely individualistic society. It has become a hallmark of the contested "bruksanda" and as such regarded as being out of time. Häyrynen et al has proposed that former single industry societies oppressed diversity in the community, differences that nevertheless existed as a kind of hidden structure. After industrialization, this diversity is now revealed, creating or showing the deep lines of differences cutting across these communities.^{xi} I would say that the making of differences has, on the contrary, been an important part of the cultural processes of these communities, differences according to class and hierarchy first and foremost, but also differences of gender, ethnicity/origin. What has not been acknowledged, however, is the long term experience of social inclusion and cooperation *within* these different groups, and, especially concerning class, a long term experience of resistance. Even though some of these industrial communities was rather late in, for example, development of unions, there has been a long record of resistance in these matters.^{xii} Another kind of resistance was the use of the company as a common resource, in everything from constructing material, know-how and garages.^{xiii} This is a kind of hidden resource that hasn't been replaced, other than in different kinds of projects following the decline of the community. The art of finding resources is a skill in these communities, where getting by, or muddling through, is a necessity.^{xiiii} It is also a zone not easily revealed, according to the semi-criminal character of it, but nevertheless important and vivid.

Another resource connected to this “muddling through” business is mutual help. Rural Sweden (and I dare say other rural landscapes as well) wouldn’t survive a day without the social or moral economy, where getting help and supporting others are in constant circulation.¹ This also belongs to the sphere of the semi-criminal at times, and there is a fear in letting “the authorities” know about these transactions. Nevertheless they are absolutely crucial for surviving in peripheral areas.

On the other hand – the risk of falling into the trap of idealism

Now, where is the downside of this cohesiveness and mutual help? Of course, these kinds of socio-economic relations demands trust and inclusion, which in turn easily causes suspicion and exclusion towards others. Coming as a new inhabitant it is hard to get access to these activities, unless you got some needed resource or having a long line of respected family members behind you. Even this helpfulness has its limits depending on who you are, for example a migrant living in Ljusne told me that he once needed help starting his car with jumper cables, but his neighbour just looked at him and went away, not even answering to his question.²

Another danger in this way of organizing a society, where known and respected persons and events become important, tend to reproduce structures which are NOT so good for social sustainability, concerning for example gender relations and ethnicity issues. The persons being celebrated and regarded respectable is often (white) men. Ethnicity issues tends to be provoking in f ex Norrsundet, and a populist xenophobic political party has quickly made progress in Ljusne. It can be seen as a resistance of being more socially burdened; the “blackness” of the area getting deeper with refugee settlements, filling those empty houses that reminds of former glory.

Small communities have a basic need to put people in place. When a society has lost resources in service, jobs and population, it is very vulnerable. As in recognizing local memory, integration must include some kind of effort to make room. He mentions a former group of immigrants, a group from Bosnia in the nineties, who really made Ljusne blooming. A few of them still lives in the neighborhood. In contrast, the constant change of people in the refugee quarters, is harder to deal with. .³ Disturbing the inner rationale of the community, is risking social sustainability. Acting with respect towards the cultural and social conditions is necessary. The challenge is to include new groups in small communities, without unbalancing the importance of being known.

Conclusion

These two lines of analysis have led us to a rather short conclusion:

1. We need to analyze **the relation between centre and periphery today**, to reveal power relations by looking at the distribution of value.
2. We need to **acknowledge potentials and dangers** in (former single industry) communities by acknowledging the importance of place as built by social relations and memory.

This requires a bottom-up perspective and the use of unconventional sources over a long period, to understand the cultural conditions for sustainability in former single industry communities.

ⁱHäyrynen, Simo/Nyman, Jopi 2012: Introduction: Changing Single-Industry Communities as Examples of Identity Formation. In Häyrynen, Simo/Turunen, Risto/Nyman, Jopi (eds): *Locality, Memory, Reconstruction. The cultural challenges and possibilities of former single-industry communities*, p. 4-5. Cambridge Scholars, Newcastle upon Tyne.

ⁱⁱEkman, Ann-Kristin: *Kultur och utveckling i Bergslagen*, I Bergdahl, Ewa/Isacson, Maths/Mellander, Barbro: *Bruksandan – hinder eller möjlighet?* Ekomuseum Bergslagen 1997, s. 36.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ekman, Ann-Kristin 1996: *Från stålverk till Sevillapaviljong*. In: Ekman, A-K (red.): *Bortom bruksandan. Föreställningar om kultur, historia och utveckling i Bergslagen*, s. 108, 112. She also refers to Susan Wright (1992) who wrote on similar processes of partial forgetfulness in mining districts in England: *Heritage: A critical history in the reinvention of mining festivals in North-East England*, in Boissevain, Jeremy (ed): *Revitalizing European Rituals*. Routledge, London.

^{iv} Vallström as Andersson 2006: *Lyssnandets båda sidor. Utvärdering av landsbygdsprojektet i Söderhamn 2002-2006*. Report, Söderhamn.

^v Financed by FORMAS, The Swedish Research Council for Environment, Agricultural Sciences and Spatial Planning.

¹ Salazar, Carles 1996: *A Sentimental Economy. Commodity and community in rural Ireland*. Berghahn books, Providence; Andersson, Maria 2003: *Arbetslöshet och arbetsfrihet. Moral, makt och motstånd*. Diss Uppsala university; Isacson Maths 1994: *Vardagens ekonomi. Arbete och försörjning i en mellansvensk kommun under 1900-talet*. Gidlunds, Hedemora.

² Interview Narek, 2011.

³ Interview Lasse Persson 18/8 2010.

- ^{vi} And to a certain extent observation, but harder to keep the distance, needing to share my findings to be able to go on, and being observed as much as the opposite.
- ^{vii} Svensson, L (2005): An interactive approach and combined methods: Development of applied youth research. I: Helve, H (ed) (2005). *Mixed Methods in Youth Research*, s 252-273. Finland: Finnish Youth Research Network; Aagaard Nielsen, K & Svensson, L (2006): *Action and Interactive Research. Beyond practice and theory*. Maastricht: Shaker Verlag.
- ^{viii} McDonald, Allyson: *Zone of sustainability: dream or danger?* Paper delivered at PEMABO 2012 in Ísafjörður, Iceland: http://www.uwestfjords.is/pemabo_westfjords_conference_2012/slides/skra/569/
- ^{ix} Scott, Joan W 1992: "Experience". In: Butler, Judith/Scott, Joan W (eds): *Feminists theorize the political*. Routledge London/New York. Skeggs Beverly (1997) 2006: Att bli respektabel. Daidalos Göteborg; Skeggs/Wood, Helen 2012: *Reacting to reality television : performance, audience and value*. Routledge, London.
- ^x Jansson 2003, 2005, after Eriksson, Madelene 2010: "People in Stockholm are smarter than countryside folk" – Reproducing urban and rural imaginaries in film and life. In: *Journal of Rural studies* 26, p. 96, 100.
- ^{xi} Andersson, Maria 1996: Osynlige mannen. Om kön, makt och modernitet. In: *Nordnytt nr 65*.
- ^{xii} Massey, Doreen, 1994: *Space, Place and Gender*, Cambridge.
- ^{xiii} Munday, Max: *Wind energy: Might community benefit provisions grow community ownership of renewable energy resources in the Celtic periphery?* Presentation given at PEMABO 2012, Ísafjörður, Iceland: http://www.uwestfjords.is/pemabo_westfjords_conference_2012/slides/skra/569/
- ^{xiv} "Cultural" in the other sense of the term, namely as "fourth pillar".
- ^{xv} Study visit Avesta 2011-10-05, with the project "Art Power" and event in Ljusne 2012-03-02, same project.
- ^{xvi} Elíasdóttir, Albertína. „I own Ísafjörður and Ísafjörður owns me" Place attachment and place identity in Ísafjörður. Presentation at PEMABO 2012: http://www.uwestfjords.is/pemabo_westfjords_conference_2012/slides/skra/560/
- ^{xvii} I owe Beverly Skeggs for the concepts of audience and value, inspired by a lecture held in Uppsala 2012, but the question of the *function* of the audience is not what she is analyzing. I use the concept in a more symbolic way, the audience not in a literally spoken sense of the word, more like a position to be held.
- ^{xviii} Lindqvist, Mats 1992: Kapitalism och tradition. Om kulturell komplexitet och modernitet. In: *Kulturella perspektiv nr 2*.
- ^{xix} Bhabha e Eriksson, Catharina/ Eriksson Baaz, Maria/ Thörn, Håkan 2002: Den postkoloniala paradoxen, rasismen och "det mångkulturella samhället" In: (same eds.): *Globaliseringens kulturer. Den postkoloniala paradoxen, rasismen och det mångkulturella samhället*, p. 26.
- ^{xx} Living in Söderhamn, Los and Hofors. Industrious is, by itself, a repressive adjective, generally used about women.
- ^{xxi} Stenbacka, Susanne 2011: Othering the rural: About the construction of rural masculinities and the unspoken urban hegemonic ideal in Swedish media. In: *Journal of Rural Studies* 27, p. 243: Erikson 2010.
- ^{xxii} Said, Edward (1978) 1997: *Orientalism*. Ordfront, Stockholm.
- ^{xxiii} See, among others, Marklund, Anton 2011: *Djurvänner*; Nilsson, Ola 2010: *Hundarna* from a discussion in <http://omlinemagasin.se/2012/02/08/landsbygd-noir/> (2012-01-29). Recently, another genre of literature about the rural has emerged in Sweden, more nuanced: http://www.svd.se/kultur/litteratur/gehor-for-landsbygden_7866810.svd (2013-01-29).
- ^{xxiv} Jörnmark, Jan/Hausswloff, von, Annika 2011: *Avgrunden*. Tangent, Göteborg.
- ^{xxv} Mattson, Kristina 2010: *Landet utanför. Ett reportage om Sverige bortom storstaden*. Leopard förlag, Stockholm; Jörnmark/Hausswloff 2011: *Avgrunden*; Can, Mustafa, i SvD 2010-09-12: Kullberg, Dennis, i *Ica-kuriren nr 43 2010-10-25*, Exhibition Jens Assur, Bollnäs.
- ^{xxvi} Gunbritt Wallström, research circle 2010-11-04.
- ^{xxvii} Interview Pia Gustafsson (anon.), Gällö 2006. See sociologist Lotta Svenssons paper this volume (?) about values regarding youth mobility.
- ^{xxviii} Interview Motbilder nr 2012-06-20, by Lennart Engström.
- ^{xxix} Ristilampi, Per Markku 1994: *Rosengård och den svarta poesin. En studie av modern annorlundahet*. Symposion, Stehag.
- ^{xxx} Ericsson, Urban 2007: *Belägrade människor, belägrade rum. Om invandragöranden och förorter*. Diss. Uppsala university.
- ^{xxxi} Stenbacka s 239.
- ^{xxxii} Massey, Doreen 2005: *For space*. Sage publications, London. p.87:
- ^{xxxiii} *Ibid* p.86.
- ^{xxxiv} See Ekman, A.K. Beyond the village Exploring the Importance of Social Networks for Rural Development. Presentation given at PEMABO 2012: http://www.uwestfjords.is/pemabo_westfjords_conference_2012/slides/skra/581/
- ^{xxxv} Massey 2005, p.81-89.
- ^{xxxvi} For a good example of this, see Lindqvist, Mats 2009: Förändringshysteri. In Hagborg, Anna/Lennartsson, Rebecka/Vallström, Maria (eds): *Tidens termik. Hastighet och kulturell förändring*. Borea, Umeå.
- ^{xxxvii} See Allyson McDonald, this volume (?) about looking forward, forgetting, getting ahead.
- ^{xxxviii} Vallström, Mikael, 2006: *Det förlutnas närvaro. Essäer om norrländska kulturarv, historieskrivning och tidlig mångfald*. Forskningsrapport Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm.
- ^{xxxix} Susanne Norén 2012-01-17.
- ^{xl} Häyrynen/Nyman p.5.
- ^{xli} Bengt-Göran Källman, 1999: *Fackföreningen vid Ala under 90 år*.
- ^{xlii} Research circle 2010-11-30.
- ^{xliii} Cf Tom Hall, paper on EASA 2002, Copenhagen.